Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the taro beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the taro, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

Individual named taro beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake taro beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new taro beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,